



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

## MARCH MEETING, 1881.

The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday afternoon, March 10, the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and accepted. The Librarian presented his report of accessions to the Library during the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the acceptance by the Rev. Henry F. Jenks of his election as a Resident Member, and the acceptance by Messrs. Julius Dexter, of Cincinnati, and George Otto Trevelyan, of England, of their elections as Corresponding Members.

On the recommendation of the Council, it was voted that the Annual Meeting be held on Friday, April 8, at noon, to adjourn to the house of the President for a social meeting. Messrs. Abbott Lawrence and George B. Chase were appointed the Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and Messrs. Saltonstall, Tuttle, and J. C. Ropes, the Committee on Nominations.

The President then spoke as follows:—

We are called on this afternoon, Gentlemen, to take notice of the very recent deaths of two of our most venerable Resident Members, so that they may be appropriately entered on our records.

The Hon. John Chipman Gray, LL.D., died at his winter home in this city on the morning of the 3d instant, and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near to his summer residence at Cambridge, on the afternoon of the 5th. He was chosen a member of this Society in 1841, and his name stood fourth on our roll in the order of seniority of election. He was one of our Vice-Presidents for three years, and until a recent period was a frequent attendant at our meetings, taking an active part in our proceedings. Some of us can recall an interesting meeting at his own house in 1859, when communications were received from Edward Everett and Emory Washburn and Judge Warren and Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, and others who have long since passed away.

Born at Salem in 1793, Mr. Gray had completed his eighty-seventh year on the 26th of December last, and had entirely withdrawn of late from public meetings of any sort. Yet his mind was clear and vigorous to the end, and he was spared from any serious physical infirmity until within a few weeks of his death. One of the younger sons of William Gray, once lieutenant-governor of the Commonwealth, and whose name was so long associated with the highest integrity and the widest and most successful commercial enterprise, he enjoyed the best education which New England then afforded. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1811, while still in his seventeenth year, in the class with Edward Everett, of whom, as he told us on the occasion of Mr. Everett's death, in 1865, he was the chum for two years, and an intimate friend for sixty years. As a young man, he travelled extensively in Europe, studied law, and was admitted to the bar; but he never entered seriously on the practice of his profession. His circumstances did not require him to do so; and clients rarely seek those who can do without fees. But he was soon drawn into public service, was a member of the Common Council for several years as early as 1824, and afterward served the State as a representative of Boston, as a senator of Suffolk, and as a member of the executive council, successively, during a long term of years.

Mr. Gray devoted himself with zeal and energy to whatever service he undertook, and held it a matter of conscientious obligation to study and to master the questions on which he was called to give a vote. As one of his associates for a few years in the Legislature of Massachusetts, I can bear personal testimony to the peculiar confidence which was reposed in the soundness of his judgment, in the extent and exactness of his information, and in his scrupulous impartiality and integrity, by all, of all parties, who were around him. He was a man of singularly quick perceptions, seeing at a glance the drift of a measure or a motion, and ready to pronounce upon it while others were deliberating or doubting. The absence of mind which he sometimes exhibited, or seemed to exhibit, was any thing but an indication of his intellectual qualities. He was both quick-sighted and far-sighted; and few men went deeper than he did into any subject which he studied. He was proverbial, at one time, for getting all that was worth knowing out of a new book while he was cutting the leaves, or sometimes by looking between the leaves without cutting them at all.

Mr. Gray had no fancy for display, and less faculty for it,

perhaps, than many of his contemporaries. But he was a man of generous culture, a great reader, a close thinker, a good debater, and a clear and able writer. A little volume which he published in 1856 contains his principal productions. It includes an essay on Dante, giving evidence of his Italian studies, first printed in 1819; an essay on Demosthenes, proving that he had not forgotten or abandoned his Greek, in 1826; and an essay on college education, in 1851. These were all contributed to the "North American Review." But the larger part of his volume is made up of addresses or essays on agriculture or horticulture, on forest trees and fruit trees, and on the climate of New England. These were the subjects which continued to interest and occupy him long after his love of ancient or modern literature had grown colder with advancing age. The study of an unfamiliar tongue—Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, or, perhaps, Sanskrit—would still attract him. But agriculture and horticulture were his favorite pursuits, and he pursued them practically as well as theoretically. His relations to the old Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, both as one of the trustees and as its President, were as valuable as they were long-continued; and his green-houses were lovingly cared for, almost to the last day of his life.

He was eminently a just man,—true to his neighbor and to his God,—doing much, while he lived, for those in less favored circumstances than himself, and not forgetting, in the final disposition of his fortune, some of those great institutions of education and charity which he had helped to encourage and maintain in previous years.

Mr. Gray was early married to a daughter of the late Samuel P. Gardner, Esq., a former member of this Society. They had no children, and, happily for him, her death preceded his own by less than two years.

I pass to the name of George Barrell Emerson, LL.D., who died at Chestnut Hill on Friday last, the 4th instant, and whose funeral was largely attended at King's Chapel on the 7th. Mr. Emerson was elected a member of this Society at our annual meeting in 1863, and never failed to manifest a warm interest in being with us, until the infirmities of age disabled him. He delivered, as you will remember, one of our course of Lowell Lectures in the winter of 1868-69. And no one will have forgotten his last appearance among us, at the January meeting of 1879, when he came to pay a brief tribute to the memory of his friend and classmate, Caleb

Cushing, with whom he had been intimately associated at Harvard University.

Mr. Emerson was born in the town of Wells, Old York, in what is now the State of Maine, on the 12th of September, 1797, and was thus in his eighty-fourth year when he died. Brought up on his father's farm, his attention, as a child, seems to have fastened itself on the growth and structure of the weeds and plants around him, and he thus formed habits of observing the processes of nature, which laid the foundation of the botanical studies by which he was distinguished in later life. After acquiring the rudiments of education at Dummer Academy in Byfield, he entered Harvard College in 1813, and was graduated, with a Class which included Bancroft and Cushing and other eminent scholars, in 1817. From Cambridge he was called at once to be the master of a school at Lancaster, where he enjoyed the friendly and paternal supervision of the late excellent Dr. Nathaniel Thayer. After two years at Lancaster he was appointed tutor of mathematics, under President Kirkland at Harvard. In 1821 he was summoned to the place of Principal of the English Classical School, then newly established in Boston, and now known as the Boston High School; and, after a service of another term of two years in that capacity, he accepted the call of many of our best citizens to take charge of a new School for Young Ladies. He had now found a sphere to which he was peculiarly adapted, and in his relations to which he ever felt a just pride. This school he conducted with signal success, giving a new impulse to female education, and winning the respect and affection of all who were committed to his care. And when at last, after a long term of service, he was induced to resign the place and seek relaxation by a visit to Europe, he was able to say that he had been engaged in the work of teaching for more than forty years. This is eulogy enough for any man. What limit can be ascribed to the influence for good of a faithful and accomplished teacher, such as he eminently was, during so protracted a period?

But his efforts had not been confined to the special schools with which he was immediately connected. He had been strongly impressed with the low condition of the common schools of New England generally, and had been largely concerned both in the organization of our State Board of Education, and in the establishment of normal schools in Massachusetts. The Memorial to our Legislature, drafted by him as president of the American Institute of Instruction, prepared

the way for both of these invaluable measures. The first Normal School in our country was soon afterward opened at Lexington by the united efforts of Mr. Emerson, Horace Mann, Edmund Dwight, and a few others like them. Meanwhile, Mr. Emerson was one of the founders of the Boston Natural History Society, and its president in 1837. To him was assigned, in connection with Professor Dewey, the preparation of a report on the trees and shrubs of Massachusetts, to supplement the geological survey of Dr. Hitchcock; and this report, which was highly valued and widely circulated at the time of its original publication by the State, was thoroughly revised and published by himself, as lately as 1875, in two sumptuous volumes, richly illustrated. By this work, not inferior in elegance or intrinsic worth to any work of the kind which has come from the American press, Mr. Emerson's name will be as prominently and permanently associated with the natural history of his native Commonwealth, as it must ever be with her institutions of education.

Our friend was a frequent contributor to magazines and journals, and some of the most interesting of these contributions were collected and published by himself about three years ago. A most entertaining and instructive little volume it is, under the title of "Reminiscences of an Old Teacher." With that work — full of charming illustrations of his Christian character — his labors ended; and the little remnant of his life was passed quietly in the country, either at his own seaside villa at Winthrop, or at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Judge Lowell, at Chestnut Hill.

And thus our two venerable friends and associates have passed away from us together at a good old age, leaving pleasant memories for all who knew them, and with nothing to be regretted in their lives or in their deaths.

I am instructed by the Council to submit the customary Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That this Society have observed with deep sensibility the recent departure from this life of our two venerable Associates, the Hon. John C. Gray and Dr. George B. Emerson, and that the President be instructed to appoint two of our number to prepare Memoirs of them respectively, for some future volume of the Proceedings.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS then read a paper suggested by Mr. Whittier's poem, "The King's Missive."

I observe that in the published Proceedings of the meeting of the Society for September, from which I was necessarily absent, it is noted that Mr. Winsor read the poem of Mr. Whittier, which is prefixed to the first volume of the Memorial History of Boston, and has since been reissued in another form. The poem, a rich and beautiful production, with all the exquisite touches of its author's genius, is entitled "The King's Missive," and describes the call of Samuel Shattuck upon Governor Endicott, with a mandate from Charles II., and its alleged results. The poem adopts an oft-repeated statement or tradition, that while the sharpest laws and severest "penalties" were still in force in Massachusetts against the people called Quakers, and were wholly unrelaxed, Governor Endicott and the magistrates were rebuked and restrained by what is called a "mandate" from the king, brought hither by a banished Quaker, and that the result was that there was a general jail delivery which set all such prisoners free, marking the full triumph of Quaker fidelity and heroism over Puritan intolerance and cruelty.

The poetic sketch is finely and picturesquely drawn, with incidents, scenery, and actors portrayed in a masterly way. The record in our Proceedings says that the reading of the poem "led to some discussion as to the historical accuracy of Mr. Whittier's description."\* And well it might do so. For

---

\* The poem, as it appeared in the Memorial History, is accompanied by some striking and finely drawn illustrations, which do not accompany it in its separate publication. The attention of the writer of this paper was engaged by these illustrations, and by the sketch of the poetic license indulged in them, — one of them presenting a jail delivery of imprisoned Quakers, and another, a jubilation meeting held by them around the great elm on the Common. Our court records make no mention of a jail delivery consequent upon the reception of the king's letter. Indeed, all the imprisoned Quakers had been discharged before the letter was received, by order of the court, on its own discretion. There had been three persons in the jail under sentence of death for repeated return from banishment. Of these, Joseph Nicolson and Jane his wife (see Court Records, vol. iv. part 1, p. 433) had been discharged on their agreement to go off to England, in October, 1660; and the other, "Wendlocke Christopherson," had in June, 1661 (vol. iv. part 2, p. 23), secured his liberty by certifying that he had freedom to depart from this jurisdiction, and knew not "that he should come into it any more." The magistrates were not at all concerned when the victims of their severity carried their grievances to the English court, as they had been stolidly hardened to all such risks from the first settlement of the colony.

That, if there had been a considerable number of Quakers in prison to be let out as a consequence of the reception of the king's letter, they would have been permitted to hold a glorification meeting on the Common is altogether unlikely, and has no warrant in the record.

here, as often, poetry, and the tradition which it adopts and decorates, are directly at issue with the certified prose facts of history. No *such* royal mandate, demanding a general jail delivery of Quakers, as is represented, was received by Governor Endicott. The proceedings of the court and magistrates toward the Quakers were in no whit changed by such intimations of the king's wishes as were communicated to them. His instructions in his letter were not complied with, and there was no general jail delivery of prisoners. The laws against the Quakers, as they stood on the receipt of the letter, continued to be executed after it.

One does not like to detract any thing on the score of kindness and humanity from what may be claimed for that graceless monarch, Charles II. He has need of all that he may be entitled to of such encomiums. But the historical facts of the case before us will present it intelligibly and candidly to our minds. These may be disposed under three leading questions:—

1. What was the state of the law for the dealing with the Quakers and of public opinion and feeling here, when the receipt of his letter is alleged to have relaxed the severity of treatment to which they were subjected?
2. What demand or request did he make concerning them, and to what extent or in what way was his wish complied with?
3. How did he and the laws of his kingdom treat the Quakers?

1. Let us take the facts of the case by date and incident. It is unnecessary to repeat here the sad and tragic story connected with the intrusion in this rigid Puritan jurisdiction of individuals and groups of strolling strangers, fervent enthusiasts, who alleged that they came on a special divine commission to rebuke and overthrow the Puritan spirit and its institutions, and who, under the goadings of fanaticism or the provocations of the ruthless treatment which they met with, used the severest denunciations of invective and obloquy against magistrates and ministers, denounced woful judgments, and violated the rules of common decency. Exasperated by their language and conduct, their stout refusal to go away unharmed,—which they justified by alleging compulsion of conscience and the divine leading,—the court had passed a series of laws for protection against them, and penalties increasing in severity were threatened on the successive returns again and again of such as they had hoped to rid themselves of by banishment. By a stout resolve and

heroism the Quakers affirmed that they must and would accomplish their mission, even at the cost of their lives. Finally, by a bare majority in the votes of the court, hectored and infuriated by the contempt of their orders and the scornful defiance of their authority, capital punishment by the gallows was denounced on such banished Quakers as returned a fourth time, and who, when about to be executed, refused the proffer of relief if they would only go away and stay away. The opposition to this capital law was so earnest and intense as almost to withstand its passage ; and the execution of it in each of four cases was attended with murmurs, protests, and threatened prohibition, which wellnigh baffled the resolve of the authorities.

In pursuance of the law, two Quakers returning from banishment, Robinson and Stevenson, were hanged on the Common on Oct. 27, 1659. Then Mary Dyer, who, having been taken from the gallows against her will and sent off, had returned here through the woods on foot almost as soon as her escort got back on horses, was hanged June 1, 1660. There was an evident faltering of purpose which needed stiffening of itself to its grim resolve on the part of the magistrates, as to other condemned victims. Joseph Nicholson and wife were tolerated till the following October 16, when they agreed to go off to England. The same privilege was in vain extended to William Leddra, a most persistent troubler, who was executed March 14, 1661. This fourth was to be the last victim. The people would allow no more. While Leddra was on trial, Wenlock Christison made his way into court with daring effrontery in denunciation. But he wrote from his prison to the magistrates that he was left " free in spirit " to go off, and he was allowed to go. But if he had proved as firm as those before him, he would not have reached the gallows, unless perhaps to sit upon it. Popular revulsion of feeling compelled the court, by ingenious devices, to evade their capital law without a formal repeal of it. On May 22, 1661, it enacted that all strolling and vagabond Quakers who would not go off when so ordered, should be whipped at the cart-tail, from town to town, out of the jurisdiction ; this to be repeated on a second and third return. Two additional penalties, which, however, were never enforced, were denounced upon a fourth and fifth return,—branding on the hand with the letter R, for rogue, and another scourging ; and finally, for incorrigible pertinacity, the penalty of death was in reserve.

The effrontery and indecency of the Quakers waxed to a

perfect riot under these circumstances. Women without any clothing, and smeared with black dye, marched through highways and public places "by way of prophesying," screeching, denouncing awful judgments, causing dread, pain, and fright to many of the delicate of their own sex. Such was the position of things here in May, 1661. There were to be no more capital cases. About thirty victims had suffered whippings by order of the General Court, and many more from local courts. With the exception of the lamentable final penalty, Massachusetts had exactly followed—even that at a distance—the course of the mother country in the treatment of the Quakers, who were fined, plundered, mobbed, scourged, tormented, and left to die and rot by hundreds in loathsome prisons. The maniac Quaker, James Naylor, was barbarously mutilated.

2. We ask now, in the second place, what was the message sent to our authorities by King Charles, and how did they deal with it? It was not till six months after Massachusetts had set aside her own law, and eight months after the gallows had had its last victim, and some others subject to it had been saved from it, that the occasion occurred which is so picturesquely and ideally drawn by Whittier. A very famous and earnest Quaker, Edward Burroughs, was the medium of the king's intervention, such as it was. Burroughs managed to obtain an interview with Charles II., for the purpose of interceding for his ill-treated Quaker brethren at home there. There is a story that Burroughs got access to the king out of doors, while his Majesty was playing tennis. As Burroughs kept on his hat while accosting the king, the latter gracefully removed his plumed cap and bowed. The Quaker, put to the blush, said: "Thee need'st not remove thy hat." "Oh," replied the king, "it is of no consequence, only that when the king and another gentleman are talking together, it is usual for one of them to take off his hat." Even the stern Oliver Cromwell allowed himself the same play of humor in an interview with George Fox, as we learn from the latter's journal. One cannot but wish that there had been more of this rollicking pleasantry in dealing with the fantasies of those strange and eccentric enthusiasts here, instead of such cruel handling of them. At Burroughs's solicitation the king procured a letter to be written by his secretary to the authorities in Massachusetts, bearing date Sept. 9, 1661. This letter was put for transmission here into the hands of Samuel Shattuck, a Salem Quaker, who had been banished. The Quakers procured a vessel

commanded by one of them to bring it. On arriving here, the captain and Shattuck waited on Governor Endicott at his house with the royal letter. The governor is said to have replied : "We shall obey the king's command." But they did not. They in no whit changed the course they were then pursuing, but simply reinforced their measures. What was the king's command ? It was in these words : "That if there were any of those people called Quakers amongst them, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that were imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, they were to forbear to proceed any further therein," and should transfer them to England for trial. Not a single condemned person was sent off according to this order. The magistrates may have thought that the king had more such subjects then on his own hands than he could dispose of. Glad as they would have been to be rid of the Quakers, this was not their way of relief. Nor was a single Quaker prisoner discharged, much less was there a general jail delivery. The court, meeting on November 27, with its usual adroitness and temporizing in dealing with foreign intermeddlings with its affairs, acknowledged the receipt of the royal letter, and, "that they might not in the least offend his Majesty," ordered and declared "that the execution of the laws in force against Quakers, as such, so far as they respected corporal punishment or death, should be suspended until the court took further order." This "further order" was taken by the court, Oct. 8, 1662, putting the existing and suspended law in full force, but restricting the whipping at the cart's tail to three successive towns in ridding themselves of a Quaker. Meanwhile the court, by messengers sent to England, represented to the king how they had been persecuted and tormented by the Quakers. This drew from the king a second letter, in which he wrote, under date of June, 1662: "We cannot be understood to direct, or wish, that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, by the advice of Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well contented that you do the like there." So that the reinforcement of the existing laws by the court, in its order of October, after the receipt of this letter, had the king's sanction.

3. The king refers to the "sharp law" which he and his Parliament had felt compelled to pass against the same troublers. This brings us to the third question, How did he

and the laws of his kingdom treat the Quakers? Besides all the outrages inflicted upon them already referred to, Parliament, May 2, 1662, passed this law: "All Quakers or other persons refusing to take an oath required by law, or persuading to such refusal, or maintaining by speech or print the unlawfulness of oaths, and in particular all Quakers meeting for worship to the number of five or more, to be fined five pounds for the first offence, and ten pounds for the second; or failing to pay such fines, to be imprisoned with hard labor for three months for the first offence, and six months for the second. Offenders on a third conviction to be banished to the plantations." Masson (*Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 259) says that under this law "cargoes of Quakers and others had been exported to the black ends of the earth." The king could hardly desire that the plantations should send them back to him again.

From these facts and dates it appears that the Quakers here were not at all indebted to royal interference in their behalf for relief, nor for any change in the mode of treatment of them other than had been in progress by the working of public sentiment in the colony. The magistrates of Massachusetts, in following their consciences and the guidance of their own best judgment, unwise as that seems to us, as to their own protection and interests, were not in the habit of succumbing to any foreign interference or dictation in their affairs. I can recall no single instance in which, while they kept their charter, they yielded to advice even, much less to authority, from abroad. While the temper of some of the magistrates was aggravated by the insolence and indecorums of the Quakers, their dogged pluck and patience, their elation of spirit and unresisting submission, wrought their due effect upon the majority of the people. Thus even an austere Puritan community yielded to the softening sway of gentle patience under suffering. As resentment, violence, and cruelty on the part of the authorities gradually relaxed in bitterness, the Quakers gave over their antics and extravagances, and in time, under the pleadings of such as the wise and good Barclay, became known as the most inoffensive, exemplary, and respected of all religious fellowships. On this matter we might prefer the fiction to the fact, the poetry to the prose. But the prose is history.\*

---

\* See below, p. 387. — EDS.

The Rev. R. S. STORRS, D.D., of Brooklyn, New York, a Corresponding Member, and the President of the Long Island Historical Society, then spoke briefly in acknowledgment of a welcome extended to him by the President, dwelling on the fact that such societies as these exist not only to build our American Walhallas, temples of silence and reconciliation, but have a specially important function, because no other history brings barbarism and civilization side by side as does ours, none other so clearly shows the development from small beginnings to vast results, and the working of the Divine plan in the progress of the race. He spoke also of the Long Island Society, which has inherited some of the impulses of this Society and of this Commonwealth, transplanted into another soil.

Dr. OLIVER presented to the Library, in behalf of the owner, a volume of rare interest, being the family Bible of the Rev. Increase Mather, and said :—

I received not very long ago, Mr. President, from a lady, now resident in New Jersey, a volume of not a little historic interest, with the request that at some time it should be presented to this Society. This volume, now upon the table, has a twofold value. It is a tolerably well-preserved copy of one of the later editions of the Geneva Bible, known sometimes by the not altogether reverent title of the "Breeches Bible," printed in 1599; but what gives it a special local interest is the fact that it was once the family Bible of Dr. Increase Mather, and contains a record in his own hand of his marriage and of the births and baptisms of his children; at the head of which stands the name of his distinguished son, the author of the "Magnalia," with the following memorandum :—

" My son Cotton was born at Boston in N. E. ye 12 day of ye 12 moneth, a quarter of an hour past 10, before noon, being ye fifth day of ye weeke 166 $\frac{2}{3}$ . He was baptized at ye old church in Boston by Mr Wilson 15 day of yt same moneth."

It appears from an inscription on the titlepage that this Bible was given to Mrs. Mather by her father, John Cotton; and it may be inferred, from the date of its issue, that it was in his possession some time before he parted with it.

It was given by Dr. Mather subsequently (May 22, 1697, as is stated upon the fly-leaf) to his daughter Jerusha; who leaving no issue, it passed into the hands of his daughter Elizabeth, whose first husband was William Greenough, and

who afterward married Josias Byles. From Mr. Byles it descended to his son, the first Dr. Mather Byles, then to the second Dr. Mather Byles, afterward to his son Belcher, and at last to his daughter Sarah Louisa Byles, who now presents it to this Society.

There are various memoranda upon the fly-leaves and covers made by a later hand. The following, relating to the setting apart a tract of land for a farm for Mr. John Cotton by the inhabitants of Boston in 1635, is in the handwriting of Increase Mather:—

14<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> At a publick meeting of ye Inhabitants of Boston —

1635 It is agreed yt Mr W<sup>m</sup> Coleburn Mr W<sup>m</sup> Aspinwall, Mr Jno Sanford, W<sup>m</sup> Balstone & Richard Wright, or four of them, shal lay out at Muddy River a sufficient allottment for a farm for our Teacher, Mr John Cotton.

---

1<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> mo. At a meeting of ye Select men of Boston —

1636 It was agreed yt our Teacher Mr John Cotton shal have unto his Lott at Muddy River all ye ground, lying between ye two Brooks, next to William Coleman's allottment there, and so to ye other end, unto ye shortest overcutt beyond ye Hill towards ye Norwest.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Miss Byles for her very valuable and acceptable gift.

Mr. ELLIS AMES communicated the following paper on the part taken by Massachusetts soldiers in the expedition against Cartagena under Admiral Vernon, embodying hitherto unpublished excerpts from the provincial records obtained in recent years from the Public Record Office in London, with much material that failed to be noted by the historian Hutchinson.

War was declared by Great Britain against Spain on the twenty-third day of October, 1739, and early in 1740 the British Government fitted out an expedition against the Spanish dominions in America, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, manned with fifteen thousand seamen and accompanied by twelve thousand land forces, all plentifully supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions.

The English provinces in America were called upon to furnish reinforcements, and however it may have been with

any other province than Massachusetts and Virginia, each of these provinces contributed five hundred men. The quota from Virginia was commanded by Lawrence Washington (the eldest brother of General Washington), who, during the expedition, became much attached to Admiral Vernon, the commander of the British fleet; and after his return home to Virginia he named the family estate "Mount Vernon."

Upon critically examining Governor Hutchinson's History of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, we find no allusion whatever to this expedition, which, as will be seen, was of very considerable importance to Massachusetts. The expedition accomplished little except making an attack upon Cartagena, the principal town on the Spanish Main, as it was called, in the province of New Grenada; and though the great fortification there upon the land was stormed and carried by a midnight assault, in which the Virginia and Massachusetts quotas took part, Cartagena was not compelled to surrender, by reason of the ravages of the yellow-fever among the troops and sailors.

Of the five hundred soldiers who enlisted from Massachusetts, only fifty lived to return. A critical investigation, even at this late day, would reveal the names of all of those who enlisted from Massachusetts, who had any social standing or reputation. We can name only two, however; one was Nathaniel Chandler of Duxbury, who never returned, but left a widow and seven young daughters in rather destitute circumstances, one of whom afterward was the mother of the Hon. Seth Sprague, Sen., of Duxbury, the father of the late Hon. Peleg Sprague, Judge of the United States District Court; and the other was Moses Thomas, the father of the Hon. Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the American Antiquarian Society, located at Worcester, and great-grandfather of the late Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, one of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

How it was possible for Governor Hutchinson to ignore Cartagena, as he was then twenty-nine years old, and knew every thing about it at the time, can be accounted for only by the consideration that he began to write his history a quarter of a century afterward, and that the records of the legislative and executive departments of the province, on which his work was largely based, could not, for the years 1740 and 1741, be found on this side of the Atlantic, when he wrote.

It is well known that the Town House in Boston, in which the General Court was then holding its sittings, was burned

Dec. 9, 1747, and that the General Court records from July 5, 1737, to Feb. 14, 1746, and the records of the Council Board in their executive capacity from 1692 to the end of February, 1746, were utterly destroyed by that fire, and Governor Hutchinson after 1747 could have had no help from such sources. Add to this that Governor Hutchinson was probably in trouble with the people of the province when he wrote this part of our history, and did not search so industriously for materials as he otherwise might have done.

Several years ago the second volume of our Provincial Statutes was sent to the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, of Virginia, an Honorary Member of this Society, who examined the volume, among other purposes, to read the Statutes that he supposed must have been passed by our General Court, to authorize such a force as, he well knew, was sent from Massachusetts, together with that sent from Virginia, to assist at Carthagena; but except chapter 10 of the political year 1740, —see volume ii., page 1037, for an act passed Sept. 6, 1740, to prevent the soldiers then already enlisted from being arrested for debt, and page 1061, note or section 11, for a resolve passed May 30, 1740, giving a small bounty for each soldier who should enlist,—he could find nothing, and being rather disappointed he made inquiry.

Though about forty years ago copies of all records burned Dec. 9, 1747, were procured from the Public Record Office in London, nothing more than the above can be found in the General Court records respecting the expedition to Carthagena; but upon examining the records of the Council Board in their executive capacity (copies of which were also procured), from April 17, 1740, to Dec. 5, 1741, inclusive, *the mystery is solved*, and we hereto annex so much of the records of the doings of the Governor and Council of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay as relates to the expedition against Carthagena. By reading the records of these doings we see how war could be and then was carried on here without the representatives of the people taking much part in the business.

During the respective periods when George Bancroft, Edward Everett, and Abbott Lawrence were ambassadors to England, the deficiencies in our provincial records were supplied, certified not only by the proper officer of the Record Office, but by our respective United States ambassadors themselves, after we had been without them for a century or more. It was a standing law or rule of the British government that the moment the House of Representatives and Council Board of the province had adjourned, a copy of the

House Journal and of the doings of the Council, whether in its legislative or executive capacity, duly authenticated, should be sent to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, a committee of the King in Council.

In the Public Record Office in London the records of the House of Representatives and of the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, in both legislative and executive capacities, until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, as drawn up and certified by the clerks who drew up the originals, remain to this day; and therefrom the people of Massachusetts have been enabled to perfect their records after the partial loss by fire on Dec. 9, 1747.

It is well known that this powerful fleet and army with provincial reinforcements was not beaten in battle, but was awfully shattered and disabled by the yellow-fever and other diseases incident to the climate, as stated by Smollett in the last volume of his works, which are in the library of this Society; but it is not out of place, perhaps, to quote a few lines from the poet Thomson, in the "Seasons," where, after stating the pestilence that reigns in summer in some climates, he proceeds and says:—

" Such as, of late, at Cartagena quenched  
The British fire. You, gallant Vernon, saw  
The miserable scene ; you, pitying, saw  
To infant-weakness sunk the warrior's arm,  
Saw the deep-racking pang, the ghastly form,  
The lip pale-quivering, and the beamless eye  
No more with ardor bright ; you heard the groans  
Of agonizing ships, from shore to shore ;  
Heard, nightly plunged amid the sullen waves,  
The frequent corse ; while on each other fixed,  
In sad presage, the blank assistants seemed,  
Silent, to ask, whom Fate would next demand."

We conclude these remarks by annexing the report of the Committee of the General Court appointed soon after the burning of the records, above referred to, in what they there called their "Court House," which report the committee made December 11; after which we annex a copy of so much of the records of the doings of the Governor and Council Board of this province in its executive capacity between and including April 5, 1740, and Dec. 5, 1741, as relates to the war with Spain.

FRIDAY, DEC. 11, 1747.

The committee appointed to consider what may be proper for this Court to do with respect to the circumstances the public affairs of the province are brought into by the late burning of the Court House, &c.,

report as their opinion that the Secretary be directed forthwith to get the duplicate of the General Court books, now in his hands, fairly transcribed, and when finished that they be kept in a separate place from said duplicate. That forasmuch as the said duplicate reaches no further than the 5th of July, 1737, the agents of this province in London be directed to procure, if possible, from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, the copies of the said General Court books from the said 5th of July, 1737, to the 14th of February last, now lying in their office, the said agents leaving copies thereof in the said office, to be drawn in the cheapest manner they can, by employing some other persons than the clerks of that office, if that may be allowed. But if the said copies now lying in that office cannot be obtained, that then the copies taken from them as above, being first examined and attested by the said agents, be bound up in three volumes, leaving in each book a number of leaves for a table, and transmitted hither as soon as may be. That the agents be also directed to inquire into the state of the Minutes of Council of this province from the year 1692, to the end of February last (supposed to lie in the said Plantation Office) whether they are complete; and if so at what expense they may be procured; and inform this Court as soon as may be.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Thursday the 17th of April, 1740.*

PRESENT:

|   |                           |                            |                     |
|---|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| His Excellency Jon <sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esqr, Gov <sup>r</sup> . |                           |                            |                     |
| William Dummer,   | Fra. Foxcroft,            | Richard Bill,              |                     |
| Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,                                      | Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard, | Dan <sup>l</sup> Russel,   |                     |
| John Osborne,   | Jacob Wendell,            | Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth, |                     |
| Ezekiel Lewis,  | Ant. Stoddard,            |                            | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . |

His Excellency communicated to the Board two letters he had received from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, one containing orders from His Majesty for publishing His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain, the other containing His Majesty's order and encouragement for raising volunteers to join the land forces under the command of my Lord Kathcart in an expedition against the Spaniards in America; as also a letter from Coll<sup>l</sup> Spotswood (who was appointed to command the forces to be raised in America) upon the affair of the said expedition: which being considered,

His Excellency appointed Monday next, at ten o'clock in the fore noon, for the publishing His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain, and to be published.

*Ordered*, That the regiment of the militia of the town of Boston and the troop of guards should attend the solemnity.

And the Secretary was directed to prepare the draught of a proclamation for enlisting volunteers against that time.

Proclamation for volunteers to be prepared.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Saturday,  
April 19, 1740.*

PRESENT :

|   |                           |                     |                            |                     |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| His Excell <sup>cy</sup> Jon <sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esqr, Gov <sup>r</sup> . |                           |                     |                            |                     |
| William Dummer,   | Fra. Foxcroft,            |                     | Richard Bill,              |                     |
| Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,  | Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard, | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . | Dan <sup>l</sup> Russel,   |                     |
| John Osborne,   | Jacob Wendell,            | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . | Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth, | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . |
| Ezekiel Lewis,  | Ant. Stoddard,            |                     |                            |                     |

The Secretary reported the draught of a proclamation to encourage the enlisting of soldiers for an expedition against the Spaniards in America, which was approved of, and

*Advised, That His Excellency issue the same accordingly.* Advised.

*Voted, That Jacob Wendell, Anthony Stoddard, and Richard Bill, Esqr<sup>s</sup>, be a committee to provide proper places for the reception of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll. Spotswood and Coll. Blakeney, who are soon expected here upon His Majesty's especial service, and that they wait on those gentlemen at their arrival, and conduct them to their lodgings.* Committee to provide for Colonel Spotswood and Colonel Blakeney.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday,  
April 21, 1740.*

PRESENT :

|   |                            |                     |                            |                     |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| His Excell <sup>cy</sup> Jon <sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esqr, Gov <sup>r</sup> . |                            |                     |                            |                     |
| Will <sup>m</sup> Dummer,   | Eben <sup>r</sup> Burrill, |                     | John Cushing,              |                     |
| Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,  | Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard,  | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . | Rich <sup>d</sup> Bill,    |                     |
| John Osborne,   | Ant <sup>o</sup> Stoddard, | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . | Dan <sup>l</sup> Russell,  |                     |
| Ezekiel Lewis,  | Thomas Berry,              |                     | Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth, | Esqr <sup>s</sup> . |
| Fra. Foxcroft,  | Benj <sup>a</sup> Lynde,   |                     |                            |                     |

This day, according to order, His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain was published in the following manner :—

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, His Excellency the Governor (attended by the troop of guards and two foot companies of militia), with the members of His Majesty's Council, justices of the peace, and other officers and gentlemen, walked from the Province House to the Council Chamber, and the town regiment of militia and troop of guards being drawn up in King Street, and a great number of spectators attending, His Majesty's declaration of war was read in the balcony of the Council Chamber by the Deputy Secretary, and from him published with an audible voice by M<sup>r</sup> Richard Hubbard, door-keeper, &c., which was followed with huzzas and three volleys from the regiment and troop of guards, and the discharge of the cannon at Castle William and the batteries.

And then His Excellency's proclamation for encouraging the enlisting of volunteers, &c., was published out of the balcony.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, June 12, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

PRESENT:

His Excellency Jon<sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esqr, Gov<sup>r</sup>.

|  |                     |  |                     |   |                     |
|--|---------------------|--|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| John Turner,<br>Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,<br>Jon <sup>a</sup> Remington,<br>John Osborne,<br>Eben <sup>r</sup> Burhill,<br>Ezekiel Lewis,<br>Fra. Foxcroft,<br>Samuel Came, | Esq <sup>rs</sup> . | John Jeffries,<br>Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard,<br>Iac. Wendell,<br>Ant. Stoddard,<br>Samuel Welles,<br>Jerem <sup>a</sup> Moulton,<br>Thomas Berry,<br>Joseph Wilder, | Esq <sup>rs</sup> . | Benj <sup>a</sup> Lynde,<br>John Cushing,<br>Nath <sup>l</sup> Russel,<br>Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth,<br>Shubal Gorham,<br>Richard Bill,<br>Daniel Russel,<br>Will <sup>m</sup> Brown, | Esq <sup>rs</sup> . |
|--|---------------------|--|---------------------|---|---------------------|

His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from Captain Francis Percival, commander of His Majesty's ship the "Astrea," and desiring he may have a supply of seamen from this government to make up his complement. Whereupon

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue a warrant to Edward Winslow, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Sheriff of the County of Suffolk, to impress twenty seamen, not being inhabitants of this province, nor belonging to any outward-bound vessel, fishing-vessel, or coaster, for the recruit of His Majesty's said ship, the "Astrea."

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, Saturday, June 21, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having communicated to the Board a letter he had received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Francis Percival, desiring that riggers, seamen, and sailmakers may be impressed for refitting His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea,"

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue out a warrant for impressing four riggers, two sailmakers, and six seamen (the number desired by the said Capt<sup>n</sup> Percival), for the service aforesaid.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Saturday, June 28, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having informed the Board that it is strongly suspected that a great quantity of Spanish goods and effects is clandestinely imported by a vessel from the Canaries, and that there are some of the subjects of the King of Spain now in this time of war about this town; and His Excellency having communicated to the Board a letter from John Peagram, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Customs, moving that he would please to take such measures as may be necessary for discovering the said persons and goods, and for preventing the mischiefs that may arise; thereupon,

Letter from the  
Surveyor-  
General about  
Spanish goods.

*Voted,* That Edward Hutchinson, Fra<sup>n</sup>. Foxcroft, Anthony Stoddard, Samuel Welles, and Nathaniel Hubbard, Esq<sup>r</sup>, be desired to convert such persons before them as they shall think necessary, and make strict inquiry into the affairs aforesaid, and proceed therein so as may be most proper for the honor and safety of this government.

Vote for examining persons about Spanish goods.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber upon Monday the 30th June, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

*Advised,* That His Excellency issue out a warrant for impressing four riggers, six seamen, and two sailmakers, over and above those before ordered to be impressed for refitting His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea."

Men to be impressed for the "Astrea."

The Secretary having by His Excellency's order prepared the draught of a proclamation referring to His Majesty's instructions concerning the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies, dated April 2, 1740, which instructions His Excellency communicated to the Board, the said Proclamation was read and approved of, and

*Advised,* That His Excellency issue the same accordingly.

His Excellency sent for Capt<sup>n</sup> Francis Percival, commander of His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea," informed him that he had issued a warrant for impressing a number of riggers, sailmakers, and seamen, over and above the former, which he had requested to be sent on board His Majesty's said ship, in order to her speedy despatch, and assured him that this Government are greatly concerned that he should be as soon despatched as possible, and therefore already done every thing he has desired, and are ready to do every thing in their power that may be necessary for that purpose.

Captain Francis Percival, ship "Astrea."

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, July 4, 1740. Sitting the General Court.*

The Secretary having by order of the Board prepared the draught of a letter to Capt<sup>n</sup> Francis Percival, relating to the proceedings of this Board, respecting the despatch of His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea," the said letter was approved of, and the Secretary directed to sign it, and send it to him accordingly.

Letter to Captain Francis Percival voted.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Saturday, July 5, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

Captain Francis Percival, commander of His Majesty's ship, having by his letter to His Excellency desired that the seamen to be impressed for him might be kept at His Majesty's Castle William till his ship be refitted, Capt<sup>n</sup> Percival and Lieut<sup>t</sup> John Larrabee were sent for, and His Excel-

Proceedings as to the impressed seamen for the "Astrea."

lency informed Captain Percival that he had been supplied with seamen before now, had he not signified that he could not yet take them on board, and Captain Larrabee was asked whether the men could be secured at Castle William. He said that there was no convenience to secure them there. However, His Excellency acquainted Capt<sup>n</sup> Percival that he would order twenty men to be sent on board his ship, and twenty more to be kept at the castle till he could receive them.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 7th July, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having communicated to the Board a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Caverly of Boston, offering to use his endeavors to raise a number of men for the intended expedition under my Lord Cathcart, and subsist them at his own charge till they shall be delivered to the General of the American troops, and to wait for his reimbursement from His Majesty; and praying for proper powers from His Excellency for enlisting men for that purpose, His Excellency asked the advice of the Council thereon.

And the matter being considered, the Council are of opinion that the method proposed by M<sup>r</sup> Caverly for enlisting men is not agreeable to His Majesty's instructions on this affair; by which the charge of our raising soldiers for this expedition and subsisting them until their arrival at their place of general rendezvous is devolved on this province; and this Government hath cheerfully made provision for defraying the charge thereof accordingly; and therefore that His Excellency's granting such power to enlist men is not consistent with the dispositions aforesaid.

His Excellency laid before the Board a list of a number of persons that have offered themselves to serve as officers in the intended expedition against the Spaniards under my Lord Cathcart.

List of persons offering to serve as officers in the expedition laid before the Board. And the following persons were named by His Excellency to be captains or commanders of companies (to be by them raised for this service) to be approved of by the Council, viz.: Capt<sup>n</sup> Daniel Goffe, Capt<sup>n</sup> Stephen Richards, Coll<sup>o</sup> John Prescott, Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Barker, and M<sup>r</sup> Timothy Ruggles.

And the matter was referred for consideration to Wednesday next.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Wednesday, July 9, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having again nominated the six gentlemen named on Monday last to be captains of companies to be by them raised for the expedition against the Spaniards, viz.: Capt<sup>n</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> Goffe, Cpt. Stephen Richards, Coll<sup>o</sup> John Prescott, Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Barker, and M<sup>r</sup> Timothy Ruggles,

The Council *advised* to their being appointed captains accordingly.

His Excellency likewise nominated M<sup>r</sup>: Tho<sup>s</sup> Phillips, M<sup>r</sup>: John Furney, and M<sup>r</sup>: George Stewart to be captains or commanders of companies to be by them raised for the said expedition, and

The Council *advised* to their being appointed captains accordingly.

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue out a warrant to Richard Foster, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Sheriff of the County of Middlesex, for impressing twenty seamen for recruiting His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea," Captain Francis Percival, commander.

Warrant for  
impressing  
seamen for the  
"Astrea."

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, July 10, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency sent for the gentlemen (in town) who were appointed captains in the designed expedition against the Spaniards, and delivered them his orders for enlisting men, and beating for volunteers in the several regiments in the province.

Warrants to the  
captains to raise  
volunteers.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 14th of July, 1740.*

His Excellency communicated to the Board letters he had received from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll. William Gooch, commander-in-chief of the American forces in the expedition against the Spaniards, and from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll: Blakeney, paymaster of the forces, relating to the measures to be taken with respect to the troops raised within this province.

Letters from  
Colonel Gooch  
and Colonel  
Blakeney.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 21st July, 1740.*

*Voted*, That the soldiers enlisted for the present expedition appear before one of His Majesty's justices of the peace, and severally declare that they did at such a time voluntarily enlist in His Majesty's service in the expedition against the Spanish dominions in the West Indies under such a captain, and that they are ready to do every other thing that can be reasonably required of them to qualify them for His Majesty's said service and pay. And that the said justice note the time of such declaration, in order to give out certificates thereof to the captains; which certificates are to express the place of such soldier's birth, his age, and calling, as far as may be known.

Vote for  
volunteers'  
declaration.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 28th of July, 1740.*

*Advised*, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto the following persons, viz.: £540 for the subsistence of the companies.

Captain Daniel Goffe, Capt<sup>n</sup> John Prescott, Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Phillips, Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart, Capt<sup>n</sup> John Furney,

**Capt<sup>n</sup>** Stephen Richards, Capt<sup>n</sup> Ammi Ruhamah Wise, Capt<sup>n</sup> Timothy Ruggles, and Capt<sup>n</sup> Joshua Barker, the sum of sixty pounds each in bills of the old tenor, in all five hundred and forty pounds, for the subsistence of their respective companies; to be paid out of the £17,500 appropriation.

**Captain Ruggles  
and Captain  
Barker not  
paid.**

**Whereas**, It is of great importance for the maintaining of virtue and religion among the forces to be raised in this province, for His Majesty's service in the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies, that chaplains be procured for the said forces,

**Voted**, That the united ministers in the town of Boston be desired to make inquiry after such persons as may be most suitable and may be persuaded to undertake the said service upon such sufficient encouragement as this Government may give; and recommend to this Board two grave and prudent persons for this service.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Tuesday,  
the 29th of July, 1740.*

His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Fra<sup>s</sup> Percival, commander of the ship "Astrea," informing him that His Majesty's said ship is fully laden, and that he had written to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pierce, commander of His Majesty's ship "Flamborough," at New York, to acquaint him thereof in order to his sending some ship-of-war to convoy him to Jamaica, and desiring that his letter to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pierce might be sent forward by express; and thereupon

**Advised**, That His Excellency send the said letter by express.

His Excellency having informed the Board that he had received four sets of His Majesty's commissions for the officers of four companies of volunteers raised within this province, for the expedition against the Spaniards,

**Advised**, That His Excellency deliver the captains' commissions to the following persons, and in the following order, it appearing that they are so entitled by the time of their completing their levies, viz.:—

1. Capt<sup>n</sup> Daniel Goffe. 2. Captain John Prescot. 3. Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Phillips. 4. Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart. And His Excellency delivered the said commissions to the above-named gentlemen accordingly.

And thereupon the said captains took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and repeated and subscribed the test or declaration in the said Act, together with the oath of abjuration.

**Advised**, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto James Green the sum of twenty pounds in bills of the old tenor, for his time and

**The said cap-  
tains sworn.**

**£20 to James  
Green.**

expense in riding express to New York; to be paid out of the £1,000 appropriation.

*Advised*, That M<sup>r</sup> James Woodside be placed in Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart's company as his second lieutenant.

Advice for the disposition of the lieutenants' and ensigns' commissions.

*Advised*, That the following persons be appointed to the officers hereafter mentioned, viz.: M<sup>r</sup> William Foye, lieutenant, and M<sup>r</sup> George Wadsworth, ensign, in Capt<sup>n</sup> Daniel Goffe's company.

M<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Houghton, lieutenant, and M<sup>r</sup> William Partridge, ensign, in Capt<sup>n</sup> John Prescott's company;

M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Flagg, lieutenant, and M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Goffe, ensign, in Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Phillips's company; and

M<sup>r</sup> John Vryling, ensign in Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart's company.

And then His Excellency delivered to Lieut<sup>t</sup> William Foye, Lieut<sup>t</sup> Josiah Flagg, Ensign William Patridge, Ensign Christopher Goffe, and Ensign John Vryling, His Majesty's commissions for their said offices.

And then the said William Foye, Josiah Flagg, William Patridge, Christopher Goffe, and John Vryling took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, repeated and subscribed the test or declaration in the said Act, together with the oath of abjuration.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, the 14th August, 1740.*

*Advised*, That John Winslow, Esq<sup>r</sup>, be appointed a captain of a company of volunteers in the present expedition against the Spaniards, in the room of Capt<sup>n</sup> Joshua Barker, who has resigned.

John Winslow,  
Esq., appointed  
a captain.

Coll<sup>e</sup> William Blakeney having signified to His Excellency that those officers that could not have His Majesty's commissions here should have a certificate from His Excellency of their appointment,

Form of a certificate of the captains approved.

The Secretary prepared the form of a certificate for the captains accordingly; which was read and approved of by the Board.

*Voted*, That the Secretary advertise in public prints His Excellency's pleasure that the officers and soldiers repair to their posts in order to a general muster and review of the troops raised for the present expedition on such day as His Excellency shall appoint.

Advertisement  
to be made of a general review.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, Sept. 8, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency, by the advice of the Council, appointed Joshua Barker lieutenant, and Nathaniel Eeles ensign, of the company of volunteers under the command of Capt<sup>n</sup> John Winslow, and delivered them their certificates accordingly, and thereupon

Officers appointed for Captain J.  
Winslow's company and sworn.

The said Joshua Barker and Nath<sup>l</sup> Eeles took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and repeated and subscribed the test or declaration in the said Act, with the oath of abjuration.

*Advised*, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Captain John Winslow the sum of four hundred and thirty pounds in bills of the old tenor, for the bounty of eighty-six men enlisted under him for the present expedition, pursuant to an order of the General Court; to be paid out of the £17,500 appropriation.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Wednesday, Sept. 10, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having communicated to the Board the letters he had received from Coll. Blakeney, paymaster of His Majesty's forces for the expedition against the Spaniards, relating to the payment of His Majesty's subsistence to the officers and soldiers of the companies raised within this province, and desired the opinion of the Board thereon;

*Advised*, That His Excellency order the payment of His Majesty's subsistence to the said officers and soldiers according to the direction of the said letters, viz., the officers from the dates of their commissions or certificates, and the soldiers from the day of their enlistment to the twenty-fourth day of this instant September.

His Excellency having moved to the Board that a committee be appointed to assist him in paying His Majesty's subsistence to the forces raised for the present expedition,

*Voted*, That Edward Hutchinson, Francis Foxcroft, John Jeffries, Anthony Stoddard, and Sam<sup>l</sup> Danforth, Esq.<sup>r</sup>, be a committee for the purposes aforesaid.

*Advised*, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Captain John Winslow the sum of seventy pounds in bills of the old tenor, being the bounty allowed by the General Court for enlisting, to be paid to the remaining fourteen men not before paid; to be paid out of the £17,500 appropriation.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1740.*

*Advised*, That His Excellency order that the troops raised within this province for His Majesty's service in the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies receive His Majesty's subsistence or pay to the twenty-fourth day of October next.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, the 10th of October, 1740.*

His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from M<sup>r</sup> William Bollan, informing him of a young Spaniard, who was entertained at Capt<sup>n</sup> Oliver's house at Chelsea, who, he supposes, was sent to make a discovery of the country and give intelligence.

Vote for  
inquiring about  
a Spaniard at  
Chelsea.

Whereupon, Edward Hutchinson and Anthony Stoddard, Esq<sup>rs</sup>, two of His Majesty's justices of the peace, and members of this Board, were appointed to convene the said Capt<sup>n</sup> Oliver and the said Spaniard before them, and examine into the affair, and make report thereon to this Board.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Wednesday, Sept. 30, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having informed the Board that a number of Spanish prisoners last night ran away with a large sailing-boat, being furnished with arms, and that there is great danger of their surprising some of our coasting vessels and doing much damage on the coast,

Advice of  
Spanish prison-  
ers deserting.

*Advised*, That His Excellency send letters to the officers in the several port towns to inform them thereof for the safety Proceedings of the coasting vessels, and that proper measures may be thereon taken for seizing the said Spaniards.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, Oct. 1, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

*Advised*, That His Excellency direct Capt<sup>n</sup> Adam Cushing to search for Spanish prisoners among the islands in Boston Bay, and in the creeks near Hingham and Weymouth.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, Oct. 16, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency laid before the Board the draught of a proclamation for encouraging the raising of recruits for His Majesty's land forces in the West Indies, under the command of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigad<sup>r</sup> General Wentworth, which was read and approved of, and thereupon,

Proclamation  
to encourage  
the raising of  
recruits.

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue the proclamation *Advised* accordingly.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, Oct. 22, 1741.*

His Excellency having signified to the Board that he is desired and empowered by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigad<sup>r</sup> General Wentworth, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in the West Indies, to draw bills of ex-

change upon the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Henry Pelham, Esq<sup>r</sup>, paymaster-general of His Majesty's forces, for supplying Capt<sup>n</sup> John Winslow with money for raising recruits for the said forces in the West Indies; and His Excellency expressing his desire that the bills he shall draw for the said service be negotiated at the best exchange,

*Voted*, That Anthony Stoddard, Richard Bill, and William Foye, Esq<sup>rs</sup>, be desired to make inquiry into the course of exchange between Boston and Great Britain, and what exchange may be just to allow upon the bills to be drawn as aforesaid; and that Captain John Winslow and Lieut<sup>t</sup> John Vryling be desired to be present with the gentlemen aforesaid when they transact this affair. Report to be made hereupon from time to time, as occasion shall require.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Monday,  
Nov. 2, 1741.*

The committee appointed to settle the exchange on the bills that may be drawn for raising recruits gave in the following report, viz.:—

We, the subscribers appointed for the purpose above mentioned, Report about have made inquiry into the course of exchange between exchange on Boston and Great Britain, and upon consulting sundry of public bills. the principal merchants, find that four hundred per cent is the most that will be given for public bills, Captain John Winslow and Lieut<sup>t</sup> Vryling being present.

ANT<sup>O</sup>. STODDARD.  
RICHARD BILL.  
WILLIAM FOYE.

BOSTON, Oct. 22, 1741.

The foregoing report was read and accepted, and voted that the *Vote thereon.* exchange on the bills now to be drawn for the payment of His Majesty's troops raised within this province for the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies, be stated at four hundred per cent accordingly.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Saturday,  
Dec. 5, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having been informed that there was a Spanish privateer on the coast, Zebulon Witham was sent for, and Information about Spanish privateers. declared upon oath what advices he had received from the Spaniards of a Spanish privateer ship designed for the coast of New England.

Mr. DEANE called attention to the Lynde diaries by the father and son of that name, who each filled the office of Chief Justice of Massachusetts, just printed privately by Dr. F. E. Oliver; and spoke of the light which they throw on the manners and customs of the period following the date of Judge Sewall's diary, which they fitly supplement.

Mr. G. B. CHASE spoke of the names to be found in the New England genealogies of persons who served in the Cartagena expedition, and Mr. WINSOR added that there are many materials in the State Archives for that history, and spoke of some interesting local memorials, among them the inn, the Admiral Vernon's Head, which stood in State Street, near the old custom-house. He also mentioned some memorials of the Boston architect, Charles Bulfinch, now belonging to a descendant in Cambridge, including a gold medal on which is engraved the façade of the first Boston theatre, and portraits of Mr. Bulfinch and of Sheriff Greenleaf.

Colonel LEE mentioned that the person who collected and published the Sartor Resartus papers in 1838, to which reference was made at the February meeting, was Dr. Le Baron Russell of this city.

Mr. FOOTE communicated a manuscript furnished by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., of the Rev. James Freeman, D.D., rector of King's Chapel, 1787-1836, and Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1793-1812. This manuscript is of interest from the fact that although Dr. Freeman was prominent in the theological history of New England, it is the only manuscript discourse from his hand which has survived. His important services to this Society as one of its founders and an officer during its first thirty-two years are partly recorded in the first volume of the Early Proceedings (1791-1855) *passim*. This document has value as a curious memorial of an interesting public occasion in Boston, in the solemn and festive celebration of the defeat of Napoleon's plans by the disastrous failure of his Russian campaign. At the time the strong Federal sentiment of this city found expression in services which were held at King's Chapel, and in a public banquet. These were described in the "Columbian Centinel" of March 27, 1813, by Major Russell in an animated account, as follows :—

Impressed with these sentiments and feelings, a great number of the inhabitants of Boston associated for the purpose of solemnizing the glorious and important events which the Almighty has vouchsafed to bring to pass in Russia.

Having selected a committee of arrangements, consisting of the most respectable citizens, Thursday, the 25th instant, was set apart for this solemn and important festival. Intending, conformably to their impressions, to give as much solemnity and dignity to the proceedings as possible, and at the same time to afford to persons of both sexes an opportunity to join in their acknowledgments of the Divine

goodness, it was determined to have a public religious celebration of thanks.

For this purpose an oratorio was prepared to be performed in the Chapel. The solemnities consisted of appropriate airs, recitations, and choruses by a band of nearly two hundred amateurs. The ill-timed exercise of the despotic power given to the executive over aliens, directed possibly in its application in this case by the malice of party feelings, deprived the public of the services of Dr. Jackson, who was to have superintended the musical performances.

This measure, intended perhaps to diminish the enjoyment, probably served to heighten it. It infused an alacrity, zeal, and animation into the performers which enabled them to surpass any thing which had before been attempted in this town. Certain it is that no audience ever testified more heartfelt delight. The Hallelujah Chorus, more especially, produced an elevation of sentiment and feeling which can never be communicated to those who were not within the reach of its electrical effect.

The Rev. Mr. Channing offered up a prayer, perfectly adapted to the solemn occasion, and expressed with that fervor and devotional zeal for which he is so much distinguished. It united the elegance, and what the French call the *onction* of Fénelon, with the simplicity of the apostolic age. It breathed a generous spirit of independence, a humble sense of gratitude, and of submission to the Divine will, and a devout confidence in the continued overruling wisdom and goodness of God. For the liberated it offered up our fervent thanks, and even for the vanquished invaders it manifested a charity well becoming an ambassador of the Prince of Peace.

The selections from Scripture, which were read by the Rev. Dr. Freeman, were so extremely appropriate, were made with such felicity, that a person unacquainted with the sacred writings would have supposed they were the history of important events of the past year. They were read with great propriety; and there was a burst of feeling and eloquence when he pronounced the Hallelujah, which must have thrilled through every heart. A considerable portion of the passages read by him were selected from Isaiah, Joel, and Daniel. We subjoin one or two which we think we recollect; and their wonderful correspondence with the late events in Russia we leave the public to judge.

At four o'clock the subscribers to the festival, together with their invited guests, assembled at the Exchange Coffee House. The rooms were filled to repletion, and the great hall was unable to accommodate all the guests, and several dined in an adjacent room.

The Hon. Harrison G. Otis presided, assisted by Dr. John Warren, Hon. Wm. Brown, Hon. Israel Thorndike, Jonathan Hunnewell, Ozias Goodwin, Peter Osgood, and Samuel G. Perkins, Esquires, as Vice-Presidents.

Among the invited guests were the Russian and Spanish Consuls, the Hon. Messrs. Pickering, Lloyd, and Quincy; the President of the University, and many of the Clergy of this and other towns; the

Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court; the Hon. Generals Cobb, Heath, and Brooks; the Selectmen of Boston; the Secretary and Treasurer of the State; and several strangers of distinction. The Hon. Mr. Gore, General Heath, and Judge Paine sent notes regretting that ill health prevented their attending, and expressing their high gratification at the successes of the Russians in driving back the invaders of their homes and firesides.

The blessing of Heaven was craved by the Rev. President Kirkland, and thanks returned by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop.

The feast was not less distinguished for the good order, regularity, and innocent gayety which prevailed than the religious ceremonies had been for their solemnity and devotion. Every thing evinced the heartfelt pleasure which the succession of glorious events in Europe had inspired; and perhaps this pleasure was enhanced by the hope that these events would at least awaken our infatuated rulers to a sense of their errors, and would be considered by them as the "handwriting on the wall," intimating their approaching ruin, unless they accelerate a peace,—a peace which they know they can at any moment command, on terms honorable and advantageous.

Before the first toast, the Hon. Mr. Otis addressed the company in a speech replete with sound sentiments, expressed with that felicity both of style and manner of which those only can form an adequate idea who have been the witnesses of his eloquence. After some time, the Russian Consul, fearful that he should not be able to deliver himself in a foreign language with sufficient distinctness, requested the President to read an address of thanks which he had prepared. It is expressed with great sensibility, and does honor to Mr. Estaphieve's head as well as heart.

Of the Odes, which were unusually numerous, we shall say nothing, not because we are not justly proud of them, but because, as they are to be all laid before the public, we do not wish to anticipate their judgment.

The following were the regular

#### TOASTS.

1. Alexander the Great, Emperor of all the Russias. He weeps not for the conquest of a new world, but rejoices in the salvation of the old. [Russian March.]

2. Our National Rulers. May the people see in them now what history must say of them hereafter.

3. The Russian Nation. Who have cancelled their obligations to the South of Europe for arts and sciences, by teaching them how to preserve their freedom. [After this toast an original ode, "All hail to thee, Russia," &c., was sung.]

4. The Russian Armies. Too brave for the arms and too loyal for the arts of France; may their virtues be as readily imitated as admired.

5. Governor Strong. May the affections of the people be fixed as firmly on him as are his affections on their best interests.

6. The Prince of Smolensk. The victor of that temperate man who

found Egypt too hot and Russia too cold. [After this toast an original ode, "The Czar of all the Russias," &c., was sung, and an elegant portrait of the Emperor Alexander was exhibited in transparency at the head of the Hall.]

7. The Patriots of Spain and Portugal. May their triumphs be greater than their sufferings, and as glorious as their cause.

8. The Madman of France. The Russian regimen—iced-water and phlebotomy—till reason be restored. [Original ode, "When Gallia's Chief," &c.]

9. Our Navy. The brilliant star of glory, shedding its beams on the disastrous night of this once favored land.

10. Moscow. Its flames illuminated the path of oppressed nations to freedom, and that of their oppressors to destruction.

11. The Memory of Washington. Rendered more precious by the errors and follies of the present times. [Dirge.]

12. The Contemptible Cavalry of the Cossacks rendered formidable by circumstances. (See the twenty-ninth Bulletin.) [Original song, "When Bony set out," &c.]

13. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. May the fire of its patriotism, like the flames of Moscow, expel what is French, and burn southward and westward, until it consumes all but native influence. [Original ode, "Hail, Russia, may thy conq'ring band," &c.]

14. The French People. May they be delivered from oppression, and be too happy in their own to visit other countries.

The hall was decorated with great taste. When "The Emperor of Russia" was given as a toast, a curtain was drawn which disclosed a transparent likeness of Alexander in full uniform, with this motto: "Alexander — the Deliverer of Europe."

When a toast in honor of Moscow was announced, another transparency was unveiled, representing Moscow in flames, and with this inscription, selected from one of the odes: —

"The self-devoted city burns,  
And Heaven accepts the sacrifice;  
While, borne on Flames from sacred urns,  
The Nation's vows ascend the skies."

From the flames the Russian Eagle was seen ascending, bearing in his beak a scroll: "Moscow is not Russia."

Amidst the tasteful and fanciful decorations, the names of all the heroic commanders of the Russian armies were not forgotten, and adorned the columns, which bore also the names of Washington, Decatur, &c.

In short, the whole ceremonies of the day were appropriate to the occasion, and were not more than were due from a generous people to the vindicators of the rights of mankind, — the liberators of Europe; and were peculiarly proper towards an uniform friend of the United States, and one who has so lately (as is asserted by the friends of Administration) offered her mediation to restore to us that first of blessings, peace. We hope our Government, though we have little expectation of it, will manifest as much friendship for Russia and for us as Russia has done, by accepting this mediation, and entering into

a negotiation without any "courtly insincerity." Whenever such an event arrives, we will have another jubilee for a second deliverance.

Dr. Freeman's part in the exercises at the church was the reading of the Scriptures; but by the ingenious interweaving of appropriate passages from the Bible he transformed it into a vivid narrative of the events commemorated, so that to his Federalist audience it seemed an inspired commentary on the administrations of Washington and Adams, on the twelve years which had followed under Jefferson and Madison, and on the meteoric career of Bonaparte from Egypt to Russia. It culminated in the prophecy of peace. Tradition records that when the reader reached the passage from Revelation, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth," although not given to emotion, he burst into tears.

The whole occasion was perhaps the most remarkable political celebration which has ever been held here, in its mingling of fervid passion and highly wrought religious feeling.

Dr. Freeman indorsed his manuscript:—

*Discourse delivered at Kingschapel before Two Thousand of the Citizens of Boston, Assembled to Celebrate the Russian Victories, March 25th, 1813.*

Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye the words which I Acts 22. 1. now speak unto you.

We, who dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, Ps. 139. 9.  
through the good hand of God on us and our fathers, Ezra 8. 18.  
were brought into a land flowing with milk and honey, a land Josh. 5. 6.  
of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that Deut. 8. 7.  
spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley; a land wherein we eat bread without scarceness; we lack not any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills we may dig brass. Blessed be the Lord God, who gave us a wise king, even Solomon, whose wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country. He was wiser than all men, and his fame was in all the nations round about. In his days the righteous flourished, and abundance of peace. They that dwell in the wilderness bowed down before him. The king of the isles brought him presents; the kings of the continent offered him gifts. For King Solomon made a navy of ships, and he sent in the navy shipmen, that had knowledge of the sea, and they came to Ophir, and fetched thence gold in abundance. The people were many, eating and drinking and making merry; and they dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, all the days of Solomon.

Ps. 72. 18.  
1 Kings 4. 30.

Ps. 72. 7.  
Ps. 72. 9.

1 Kings 9. 26.

1 Kings 4. 20, 25

Exod. 2. 23.  
Exod. 1. 8.  
Gen. 49. 14.  
2 Sam. 15. 6.

2 Sam. 15. 54.

2 Sam. 15. 11.

Jud. 9. 6.  
Jud. 9. 8.

Jud. 4. 3.  
Gen. 49. 13.

Rev. 8. 9.  
Rev. 18. 17.

Col. 2. 4.  
2 Peter 2. 14.  
2 Peter 18. 19.

1 Cor. 14.  
Ps. 81. 5.  
Dan. 7.  
Ps. 120. 7.

Is. 30. 1.  
Is. 31. 1.  
Is. 30. 7.  
Is. 30. 6.

Amos 3. 6, 8

Deut. 1. 29.  
Is. 31. 3.

1 Kings 12. 13.

And it came to pass that after twelve years King Solomon died; and there arose up over the land a new king, of the tribe of Issachar, which knew not Joseph. He stole the hearts of the people. For it was so, that when any man came nigh him to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took him and kissed him. He said, moreover, Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come to me, and I would do him justice. And with him went a great multitude that were called, and they went in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing. And they gathered together and made him their king. Like the trees, which went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, they passed by the olive-tree, the fig-tree, and the vine; but they said unto the bramble, Come thou and reign over us. And twelve years he mightily oppressed the children of Joseph and of Zebulon, who dwelt at the haven of the sea. And the third part of the ships were destroyed. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas! alas! that great city; for in one hour is she made desolate! But with enticing words he beguiled unstable souls; for he promised them liberty, while they themselves are the servants of corruption. And he spake great swelling words of vanity in an unknown tongue; and the people heard a language that they understood not. And he made war on the king of the isles, albeit many were for peace; but when they spoke of peace, he was for war. And he put his trust in the shadow of the king of the south. But the prophets, and the wise men, and the old men cried unto him, and said, Wo to them who go to the king of the south for help, and trust in his shadow. For he shall help in vain and to no purpose: therefore have we cried concerning this, Your strength is to sit still. The land of the south is the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper, and fiery, flying serpent; they will carry away your riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and your treasures upon the bunches of camels. But the ruler answered and said, The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the trumpet hath blown, and shall not the people be afraid? But the prophets and wise men said, Dread not, neither be afraid of the king of the south. For his people are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall all fail together. Howbeit, the ruler forsook the old men's counsel; but even as they had forewarned, so it came to pass.

Now the king of the south ruled on the other side of the great sea. He was a king of a fierce countenance, and his power was mighty; and he destroyed wonderfully, and prospered, and destroyed the mighty. And through his policy also he caused craft to prosper in his hand; and by peace he destroyed many. And he did according to his will, and he exalted himself and magnified himself above every god, and spake marvellous things against the God of gods. Neither did he regard the God of his fathers, nor regard any god; for he magnified himself above all. But in his stead he honored the god of forces, or the god of wars and fortune, a god whom his fathers knew not. The ships of Chittim alone stood against him, therefore was he grieved, and returned from Egypt, and was filled with rage. Nevertheless he prospered till the indignation of heaven was accomplished; and the fear of him and the dread of him fell on all nations.

Dan. 7. 2.  
Dan. 8. 23.

Dan. 11. 36.

Dan. 11. 30.  
Dan. 11. 36.

Deut. 2. 25.

Ps. 135. 10.

Dan. 5. 20.  
Dan. 7. 8, 23.  
Dan. 12. 10, 11.

Is. 37. 9.

Is. 37. 13.

Is. 37. 25.

And it came to pass, that after he had smitten great nations and slain mighty kings, that his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, and his mouth spake great things, and he said, Surely I shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And he, even the king of the south, was moved with choler, and assembled a multitude of great forces, and went forth to fight with the king of the north. And the king of the south sent messengers before him, saying, Thus shall ye speak to the king of the north, saying, Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying, Thy city shall not be given into the hand of the king of the south. Behold, thou hast heard what I have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly, and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them which I have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? And the king of the north received the message, and went up into the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord. And he prayed unto the Lord, saying, O Lord of hosts, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth. Of a truth, Lord, the king of the south hath laid waste all the nations and their countries. Now, therefore, O Lord our God, save us from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the Lord, even thou only. Then a prophet sent unto the king of the north, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, Whereas thou hast prayed to me against the king of the south, this is the word which the Lord hath spoken concerning him, The inhab-

itants of the north have despised thee and laughed thee to scorn, they have shaken their heads at thee. Whom hast thou reproached? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? Thou hast said, By the multitude of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, and I will cut down the tall cedars and the choice fir-trees; and I will enter into the height of the borders, and into the forests. I have digged and drunk water, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of the besieged places. Hast thou not heard long ago how I have done it, and of ancient times that I have formed it? Now have I brought it to pass that thou shouldest be to lay waste defenced cities into ruinous heaps. Therefore their inhabitants were of small power; they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up. But I know thy abode, and thy going out and thy coming in, and thy rage against me, and thy tumult is come up into mine ears; therefore will I put my hook into thy nose, and my bridle into thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

Is. 37. 26.  
Rev. 12. 12.

Dan. 11. 25.  
Dan. 10. 15.

Ps. 74. 6, 8.

Joel 2. 2.

Is. 37. 36.  
2 Sam. 2, 3, 10.

Howbeit, the king of the south went on with great wrath, because he knew that he had but a short time. And he was stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; and he overflowed and passed through the country and took many fenced cities. And he burned up the houses of God in the land, and brake down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers. But a voice was heard in the north, Blow ye the trumpet in your cities; sound an alarm on your plains and mountains: let all the inhabitants of the land assemble, for the day of darkness and gloominess is come, the day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains. The trumpet was blown, and all the inhabitants of the villages came to the help of the Lord,—to the help of the Lord against the mighty. They were a great people and strong; there hath not been ever the like. A fire devoured before them, and behind them the flame of their great city burned. The land was as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness. The appearance of them was as the appearance of horses, and as horsemen so did they run. They ran like mighty men; they climbed the wall like men of war; and they marched every one on his ways, and did not break their ranks. Before their face the people of the south were much pained; all their faces gathered blackness. And the destroying angel went with them and smote in the camp of their enemies an hundred and fourscore and five thousand,

and the residue were carried into captivity. And the Lord wrought a great victory that day; and the king of the north gave thanks unto God. But the king of the south gat him by stealth into his own city, as a man, being ashamed, stealeth away when he fleeth in battle. And he sent to gather together the princes, the governors, the judges, the treasurers, and the counsellors, and commanded them to worship the image which he had set up. But tidings out of the east and out of the north troubled him, therefore he determined still to go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many.

But be not dismayed, ye that fear God. For I have read the handwriting on the wall, and thus is it written, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. And I have seen an angel come down from heaven, and he cried mightily, with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen. The kingdoms of this world belong unto God. Sing Hallelujah! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Comfort ye, therefore, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to the inhabitants of this land, and cry unto them, Your warfare is accomplished. God hath broken in pieces the oppressor. Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to his teeth. The king of the south will not now take our sons to run before his chariot, and wise men will no longer be made drunk with his cup. And when the spirit of righteousness is poured upon us from on high, then will peace be extended to us as a river; our nation will not lift up sword against any nation, neither shall we learn war any more. God will restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; afterwards we shall be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city. For the peace of our country let us all devoutly pray, for they shall prosper that love it. Let us say, Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say, Peace be within thee.

---

[The paper by Dr. Ellis, on "The King's Missive," read at this meeting, was printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" on the day after the meeting, and elicited from Mr. Whittier some criticisms which appeared in that journal on the 29th of March. To Mr. Whittier's letter Dr. Ellis replied in a communication printed the next day. A short answer by Mr. Whittier was printed in the same journal on the 31st, and a brief rejoinder by Dr. Ellis on the 1st of

Ps. 75. 1.

2 Sam. 19. 3.

Dan. 3. 2.

Dan. 11. 44.

Is. 41. 10.  
Rev. 18. 1, 2.Rev. 11. 15.  
Rev. 19. 6.  
Is. 40. 1, 2.1 Sam. 8. 11.  
Jer. 51. 57.  
Is. 66. 12.  
Is. 2. 4.

Is. 1. 26.

Ps. 122. 6.

April. It has seemed desirable to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings, to insert here the first two of these letters as an appendix to Dr. Ellis's paper. The proofs have been corrected by the writers, and Mr. Whittier has added a few notes to his letter as first printed, to which Dr. Ellis has furnished a brief reply at the end of his letter. In a note addressed to the Committee Mr. Whittier states that it has been his intention "at some time to prepare a full and exhaustive history of the relations of Puritan and Quaker in the seventeenth century."

*To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:—*

A friend has called my attention to a paper read by Dr. Ellis before the Massachusetts Historical Society upon the persecution of the Friends in New England of the seventeenth century, in which my poetic version of an incident of that period, the "King's Missive" to Governor Endicott, is criticised. It is not easy, in a poem of the kind referred to, to be strictly accurate in every detail, but I think the ballad has preserved with tolerable correctness the spirit, tone, and color of the incident and its time. At least, such was my intention. Certainly, I did not profess to hold up that reprobate monarch, Charles II., as a consistent friend of toleration, or of any other Christian virtue. The Quakers of his time knew him too well to attribute his actions to any other than selfish motives. They were never deceived by his professions of liberality, as Baxter and his friend, "old Mr. Ash," were, when they wept for very joy over his gracious words and promises. They sought to obtain from him some relief from their sufferings, and did so in a few instances, when it suited his caprice, or when the persecutors complained of happened to be Puritans.

The letter of the king commanded that further proceedings against the imprisoned Friends should be stayed, and that they should be sent to England for trial. To this Governor Endicott promised implicit obedience. The prisoners were released from the jail, and they and their friends outside were for the first time permitted to meet together in Boston, and praise God for their deliverance.\* That the persecution

---

\* The missive was signed September 9. The Friends had to charter and prepare a vessel to carry it to Boston, and considerable delay must have been occasioned. The precise date of the vessel's sailing is not known, but it was probably about the 1st of October. It was six weeks on its passage, and probably arrived in Boston somewhere near the middle of November. The records of the General Court for November 29 show that the missive had been received, though the document itself is not recorded. They state "That we may not in the least offend His Majesty, the Court doth hereby order and declare that the execution of the laws in force against the Quakers, so far as they respect corporal punishment or death, be suspended until the Court take farther notice." On the 9th of December, an order from the court for the release of the prisoners was issued. A copy of this document is given in Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," and in the "History of the People Called Quakers," by the historian Sewel, whose careful statements made when many of the per-

did not cease is true. But ever after the hunted Quakers breathed more freely, and felt that the end of their long night of tribulation was near. That the prisoners were not sent to England was probably due to the fears of the governor and his advisers that their doings would not bear a legal investigation. The only way of evading the king's requisition was to have no prisoners in the jail! Drake's History of Boston, page 357, says: "An order was issued for the discharge of the Quakers then in prison. William Salter was the prison-keeper. There were a little previous to this twenty-eight persons lying in Boston jail, one of whom, Wenlock Christison, was under sentence of death."

In Bryant and Gay's History of the United States, vol. ii., page 197, it is stated that "William Salter, keeper of Boston jail, was at once ordered to release and discharge all the Quakers in his custody." In the Journal of George Fox it is said, in relation to this matter, that "the passengers in the ship and the Friends in the town met together, and offered up praise and thanksgiving to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them out of the teeth of the devourer"; and that, while they were thus met, "in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons, expecting execution." Dr. Evans, in his carefully compiled "History of Friends in the 17th Century," says: "The council issued an order to the keeper of the prison to set at liberty all the Quakers then in confinement." Page 250.

I think it will be seen that there was a "general jail delivery" in consequence of the king's command; that the Friends met together and thanked God for their deliverance, and that "one appointed to die," and who had lain in irons expecting death, was with them. It has been said that Wenlock Christison was released before Shattuck's arrival, in consequence of his "recantation." He recanted nothing. He stated only that he found a freedom in his mind to depart out of the jurisdiction, and that he did not know as he should ever come back. Mary Dyer left the colony under the same circumstances, and after a time felt herself called upon to return. It seems more than probable that Christison was not set at liberty until after the arrival

---

secutors and persecuted were still living have never been contradicted. It is as follows:—

"*To William Salter, keeper of the prison in Boston.*

"You are required by authority and order of the General Court forthwith to release and discharge the Quakers who at present are in your custody. See that you do not neglect this.

"By order of Court,

"EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary."

"BOSTON, 9th of Dec., 1661."

That this order was not placed on record by the court is easily accounted for. The king's letter required that the prisoners should be sent to England with the charges against them and the proceedings of the court in the several cases. This would have revealed the court's usurpation of authority, and shown that the hanging and maiming were contrary to the colony's charter and the laws of England. The court released the prisoners without sending them to England, and left no record of their action to be used against them.

of the king's message, for he would not have been permitted to remain in Boston one hour after liberation, and it appears that he was with the little company who met together in praise and thanksgiving.

It is true, and for the credit of human nature it should be stated, that the cruel enactments for whipping, branding, selling into slavery, and death on the gallows, were distasteful to a considerable minority of the people of New England. Governor Winthrop of Connecticut remonstrated against the course of the Massachusetts authorities, as did also Saltonstall and Pike among the magistrates of the colony. But there is no evidence that the clergy, who were the instigators of these laws, faltered for a moment in their determination to enforce them, so far as their influence could be exerted upon the magistracy. Endicott, Bellingham, and Bradstreet needed no stimulus from them. There is not the slightest evidence that these men had abated one jot or tittle of their fixed determination to crush out and exterminate every germ of Quakerism. Nor can it be said that the persecution grew out of the "intrusion," "indecency," and "effrontery" of the persecuted.

It owed its origin to the settled purpose of the ministers and leading men of the colony to permit no difference of opinion on religious matters. They had banished the Baptists, and whipped at least one of them. They had hunted down Gorton and his adherents; they had imprisoned Dr. Child, an Episcopalian, for petitioning the General Court for toleration. They had driven some of their best citizens out of their jurisdiction, with Ann Hutchinson, and the gifted minister Wheelwright. Any dissent on the part of their own fellow-citizens was punished as severely as the heresy of strangers.

The charge of "indecency" comes with ill grace from the authorities of the Massachusetts Colony. The first Quakers who arrived in Boston, Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, were arrested on board the ship before landing, their books taken from them and burned by the constable, and they themselves brought before Deputy Governor Bellingham, in the absence of Endicott. This astute magistrate ordered them to be *stripped naked, and their bodies to be carefully examined, to see if there was not the Devil's mark on them as witches.* They were then sent to the jail, their cell window was boarded up, and they were left without food or light, until the master of the vessel that brought them was ordered to take them to Barbadoes. When Endicott returned he thought they had been treated too leniently, and declared that he would have had them whipped.

After this, almost every town in the province was favored with the spectacle of aged and young women stripped to the middle, tied to a cart-tail, and dragged through the streets, and scourged without mercy by the constable's whip. It is not strange that these atrocious proceedings, in two or three instances, unsettled the minds of the victims. Lydia Wardwell of Hampton, who, with her husband, had been reduced to almost total destitution by persecution, was summoned by the church of which she had been a member to appear before it to answer to the charge of non-attendance. She obeyed the call by appearing in the unclothed condition of the sufferers whom she had seen under

the constable's whip. For this she was taken to Ipswich and stripped to the waist, tied to a rough post, which tore her bosom as she writhed under the lash, and severely scourged to the satisfaction of a crowd of lookers-on at the tavern. One, and only one, other instance is adduced, in the person of Deborah Wilson of Salem. She had seen her friends and neighbors scourged naked through the street, among them her brother, who was banished on pain of death. She, like all Puritans, had been educated in the belief of the plenary inspiration of Scripture, and had brooded over the strange "signs" and testimonies of the Hebrew prophets. It seemed to her that the time had arrived for some similar demonstration, and that it was her duty to walk abroad in the disrobed condition to which her friends had been subjected, as a sign and warning to the persecutors. Whatever of "indecency" there was in these cases was directly chargeable upon the atrocious persecution. At the door of the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts must be laid the insanity of the conduct of these unfortunate women.\*

But Boston, at least, had no voluntary Godivas. The only disrobed women in its streets were made so by Puritan sheriffs and constables, who dragged them amidst jeering crowds at the cart-tail, stripped for the lash, which in one instance laid open with a ghastly gash the bosom of a young mother!

It is a remarkable proof of the purity of life among the early Friends that their enemies, while exhausting the language of abuse against them, pointed to no instances of licentiousness or immoral practice. However enthusiastic or extravagant, they "kept themselves unspotted from the world." Woman, from the Quaker standpoint, was regarded as man's equal and beloved companion, like him, directly responsible to God and free to obey the leadings of the Spirit of Truth. From the rise of the society to the present time the peace, purity, and peculiar sweetness of Quaker homes have been proverbial.

The charge that the Quakers who suffered were "vagabonds," and "ignorant, low fanatics," is unfounded in fact. Mary Dyer, who was executed, was a woman of marked respectability. She had been the friend and associate of Sir Henry Vane and the ministers Wheelwright and Cotton. The papers left behind by the three men who were hanged show that they were above the common class of their day in mental power and genuine piety. John Rous, who, in execution of his sentence, had his right ear cut off by the constable in the Boston jail, was of gentlemanly lineage, the son of Colonel Rous of the British army, and himself the betrothed of a high-born and cultivated young English lady. Nicholas Upsall was one of Boston's most worthy and

---

\* It is absurd to urge the conduct of these crazed women as the cause of the severe laws against the Friends. These laws had been enacted and carried into execution long before the women in question attracted attention by their "signs." The preambles to the laws make no charge of indecency or turbulent and seditious behavior. The unpublished "Examinations of Quakers at ye Court of Assistants in Boston," on file at the State House, refer almost exclusively to the religious and doctrinal opinions held by the prisoners.

substantial citizens, yet was driven in his age and infirmities, from his home and property, into the wilderness.\*

If the authorities were more severe in dealing with the Quakers than with other dissenters, it was because they were more persistent in maintaining their rights of opinion. The persecutors were, on the whole, impartial in their intolerance. The same whip that scored the back of Holmes the Baptist, fell on that of Wharton the Quaker. The same decree of banishment was issued against Mary Dyer and Ann Hutchinson. The same jail door that was shut upon the twelve-year old Quaker girl, was closed also upon the learned and world-travelled Dr. Child, the Episcopalian.

The Friends have been accused of running upon the sword of the law held out against them, of glorying in persecution. This charge was urged against the early Christians. It was said of the Martyr Ignatius, on his way to Rome, that he longed to come to the beasts that were to devour him; that he would invite them to tear him; nay, should they refuse to do so, he would force them. The good Emperor Marcus Antoninus expressed his dislike of the Christian sect, because of their "obstinacy in seeking death." It must be owned that the persecuted Quakers were more afraid of violating conscience than unrighteous law. They held duty paramount to any other consideration. They could die, but they could not deny the truth. To such "obstinacy" the world is largely indebted. The religious freedom of our age is the legacy of the heroic confessors, who suffered and died rather than yield their honest convictions. It was Quaker "obstinacy" and sturdy endurance which opened the jails of England, crowded with Presbyterians and Independents, among them the great

---

\* It is safe to say that four-fifths of those who suffered in person or estate as Quakers were settled inhabitants of the colony. Among them were men of position and substance, such as Justices Shapleigh and Hathierly, Thomas Macy, one of the first settlers of Nantucket, and my maternal ancestor, Christopher Hussey, whose wife was the daughter of the first minister of Hampton. Nothing can be further from the truth than the charge that the Quakers were "vagabonds" and "vagrants." Not one shilling of Massachusetts money was ever expended for the support of a Quaker. From the rise of the society to the present day there was never a Quaker beggar, pauper, or "town-charge." They could not be justly termed "intruders." Quakerism in Massachusetts existed among the old citizens and freeholders before preachers of the sect from England visited Boston. Cotton Mather expressly declares that the sect began in Salem and not in England. Certain it is that a large number of the early inhabitants of that town suffered under the persecution. Wharton and Buffum were banished on pain of death. The Southwicks were ordered by the court to be sold as slaves. Years before Ann Austin and Mary Fisher came to Boston, Major Pike of Salisbury was fined heavily, deposed from the magistracy, and deprived of his right of citizenship for asserting the right of Joseph Peasley, one of the first Quakers of Eastern Massachusetts, to preach and exhort in his own house. During the heat of the persecution, no known Quaker emigrant was allowed to purchase real estate in Massachusetts. Elizabeth Hooton, an aged matron of ample means, petitioned the court for leave to buy and occupy an estate in Boston. Although she had a written order from the king that she should be permitted to settle in any part of his dominions, her request was not only refused, but, for the crime of making it, she was whipped, with indecent exposure, in Boston and on the College Green at Cambridge as a "vagabond."

names of Baxter and Bunyan. Baxter, who hated them with all the intensity of his nature, owns that the Quakers, by their perseverance in holding their religious meetings in defiance of penal laws and brutal mobs, took upon themselves the burden of persecution, which would otherwise have fallen on himself and his Presbyterian friends ; and especially mentions with commendation the noble and successful plea of William Penn before the recorder's court of London, based on the fundamental liberties of Englishmen, secured by the great charter.

The inheritors of the name and religious opinions of the suffering Friends of New England have no wish to deprive the Puritan authorities of any proper extenuation or palliation of their severity. But in truth there is but one excuse for them, — the hard and cruel spirit of the age in which they lived. They shared its common intolerance. With the exception of the Friends and Baptists, every sect in Christendom believed in the right of the magistrate to punish heresy. There were indeed individuals, and among the noblest of the age, who sympathized with the persecuted Friends, and exerted themselves for their relief, — such men as Sydney and Vane, Milton and Marvel, Tillotson and Locke, Prince Rupert and Lord Herbert. But these were solitary exceptions.

For myself, I have always cheerfully admitted to its full extent this plea of universal intolerance, in extenuation of the New England ministers and magistrates. I do not doubt that they regarded the Quaker doctrine of the Divine Immanence as a fatal heresy. They could bring no charge of immorality against the men and women whom they whipped and hung. They could not charge them with taking up arms in rebellion, or countenancing in any way a forcible resistance to even unjust law. They could not deny that when left unmolested they were industrious and temperate, peaceable and kind neighbors and citizens.

The tendency of Quakerism to promote peace, good order, and worldly prosperity was proved by the fact that three of the colonies, Rhode Island, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania, under the Quaker governors, Coddington, Archdale, and Penn, were exceptional examples of peace, order, and progress.\*

Dr. Ellis has been a very generous, as well as ingenious, defender of the Puritan clergy and government, and his labors in this respect have the merit of gratuitous disinterestedness. Had the very worthy and learned gentleman been a resident in the Massachusetts Colony in 1660, one of his most guarded doctrinal sermons would have brought down upon him the wrath of clergy and magistracy. His Socinianism would have seemed more wicked than the "inward light" of the Quakers ; and, had he been as "doggedly obstinate" as Servetus at

---

\* In their address to the king, in excuse for the hanging of the Quakers, the General Court, under date of December 16, 1660, declare : "Had they (the Quakers) not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse ; and such was their insolency that they were not to be restrained but by death." What can be said of men who could set their seals to such a document designed to persuade the king that they killed the Quakers for fear the Quakers would kill them !

Geneva (as I do him the justice to think he would have been), he might have hung on the same gallows with the Quakers ; or the same shears which clipped the ears of Holder, Rous, and Copeland might have shorn off his own.

I can assure him that in speaking on this subject I have always honestly endeavored to do justice to both parties. In the ballad to which he refers I think I have done so. In " Margaret Smith's Diary " I have gone to the extreme in finding excuse for John Norton himself. I find no fault with Dr. E.'s championship of Endicott and his advisers. I only regret that, in attempting to vindicate them, he has done injustice to the sufferers, whom he seems to think were at least quite as much to blame for being hanged as Endicott was for hanging them. We who inherit the faith and name of these noble men and women, who gave up home and life for freedom of worship, have no desire to be complimented at their expense. Holding their doctrine, and reverencing their memories, we look back awed and humbled upon their heroic devotion to apprehended duty, and with gratitude to God for their example of obedience unto death.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, 3 mo., 22, 1881.

*To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser : —*

I have read with interest the communication of Mr. Whittier criticising a paper of mine which appeared in your columns. I revert simply to the matter of historical fact involved. I find no occasion to qualify or retract any thing in the substance of my communication, but am prompted to illustrate and confirm it with a few remarks. The remarks in the Historical Society were not, save incidentally, as Mr. Whittier says, upon "the persecution of the Friends in New England," but upon his ascribing to a letter from King Charles II. a change in the dealing with Quakers which had already taken place from causes working here, as will appear. It had been a relief to me in reading that sad history to note the first relentings of feeling. It seemed wrong to ascribe to Charles II. the credit of effecting the change. I had noticed in the published Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of a meeting at which I was not present, that Mr. Whittier's beautiful ballad of the "King's Missive" having been read, the reading was "followed by some discussion of the historical accuracy of his description." Soon after, on perusing the poem, with its striking illustrations, especially that of the jail delivery, in the Memorial History of Boston, I was not surprised that those who were familiar with the records of our General Court questioned the fidelity of the poem to historic truth. The king's letter in its demand and in its effect did not correspond with the poetic representation. It did not require and it did not bring about a general jail delivery, but simply asked that one class of imprisoned Quakers should be sent to England, with the charges against them, for trial. Not one such was sent. Mr. Whittier thinks the magistrates were afraid

to send them. How far he is mistaken will appear by and by. The letter only suspended till the next court, but did not alter, the laws and proceedings of the magistrates, which they put in force afterward "in all respects," save only limiting to three the number of the towns through which a "vagabond Quaker" was to be whipped in getting him out of the jurisdiction. So far from being the medium of mercy to these Quakers, and resenting the neglect of his orders, the king wrote another letter the next year, in which he said: "We cannot be understood to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers. We have found it necessary by the advice of Parliament here to make a sharp law against them, and are well contented that you do the like there."

I cannot follow my much-respected guide, Mr. Whittier, into a renewed discussion of a harrowing subject with which I have tried my utmost to deal with thorough impartiality in an article in the Memorial History. A single historical fact is now under debate. The main point which engaged my attention was that the mass of readers would infer from the poem that the ruthless and cruel course which the Massachusetts authorities had been pursuing against the Quakers, who so grievously tormented them, was, when it was in full force, arrested, not by any relenting of their own, or any protest of nearly the majority of the community, but by a peremptory interdict put upon them by the king. The court records are full in presenting the stages of the case. The jail delivery took place months before the king's missive was received. Juries were unwilling to convict capitally. A strong opposition stirred the popular heart. The only three Quakers under condemnation, to whom alone the king's *special* injunction applied, had expressed their willingness to go off, and had been released. The magistrates were always eager to be rid of Quakers in any way. The difficulty was to get rid of them. At any stage of proceedings against them, even when on the gallows, each and all of them were at perfect liberty to go off unharmed. Mr. Whittier thinks they had some special immunity or right to stay here among a rigid set of people, who claimed the privilege of holding to their own ways, under a charter which empowered them to drive out from their own domain any persons whose presence was unwelcome. The imprisonment of the Quakers was an occasion of great expense and anxiety to the magistrates. They would not work out their fees, and had to be fed. Their "railing and prophesying through the prison bars, by which they provoked and corrupted the common people," led to the impaling of the jail by a fence. Under these circumstances, twice before the king's missive was received, the magistrates had gladly made a general jail delivery of Quakers. But whatever Quaker authorities may say, there is no record on the court's book of any such delivery after it came. I cannot ascertain from the records how many — if, indeed, any — Quakers were in prison when the king's letter was received, so complete had been the voluntary clearances before it came. The Quaker authorities cited — though they are the most honest of narrators — are loose and unauthenticated. As to my acquaintance

with these Quaker authorities, who tell one side of the story admirably, I may be allowed to say that I hunted them all up in London, over forty years ago. I have them all, and have read them. I have also copied with my own hand all the papers relating to the Quakers in the state archives. Let me call the attention of my critic to one of these authorities, which he appears to have overlooked. It is in their earnest champion, John Whiting's "Defence of Truth and Innocency," &c., bound up with Bishop's "New England Judged." On page 96 we read of the Boston magistrates this charge : "After they had put to death four, and sentenced more, though the king had sent a gaol-delivery they did not regard it, the jailor telling Friends it was not for them." I cannot explain this, except by supposing that it refers either to some prisoners not coming under the class referred to by the king, or that some had returned who had been released by the real jail delivery, now to be noted. Bearing in mind that the king's missive was received here early in November, 1661, we turn to the records of the court, October, 1660, more than a year before, and read on page 433, "The court judgeth it meete to declare, that all the Quakers now in prison shall forthwith have their liberty to goe for England in this ship now bound thither, if they will," or elsewhere out of this jurisdiction, engaging not to return again without leave. This disposes of Mr. Whittier's suggestion that the court feared to have any of its victims go to England. Again, in the records of the court, June, 1661, five months before the arrival of the king's missive, on page 24, we read : "It is ordered that Wendlocke Christopherson and all the Quakers now in prison be forthwith acquainted with the new law made against them and forthwith released from prison." In Bishop's "New England Judged," &c., on page 340, we have the names of those released in this jail delivery, twenty-eight in number. It was of the court that passed this order that Bishop, recognizing the relenting of the people, wholly independently of the king's intervention, writes thus : "The Lord mingled a spirit of confusion amongst you, that you were in a manner broken, and could not hold together to put to death the innocent." The records tell us of no other jail deliveries than these, both preceding the word from the king. One must be quite uninformed as to the exasperation which the magistrates had received from the Quakers who can suppose that a company would be let out from prison and allowed to hold a public jubilation meeting on the Common. Indeed, in replying to the king's missive, page 34, the court say that they had previously released all the Quakers, though some would stroll back again. They intimate that if the king had been aware how they had been tormented by the Quakers, he would not have interposed for them. It was in answer to this that the king gave them liberty to pass the "sharp law," above referred to.

Mr. Whittier, if he had pleased, might have added that the disgusting process to which the first two Quaker women were subjected was a judicial one, by commissioned officers, universally practised all over Christendom in that superstitious age and a half-century afterward, to detect tokens of suspected witchcraft. It simply shows what a dread

was felt here of specimens of a people, a report of whom in England had preceded their arrival. Could not Mr. Whittier have told his readers in a single sentence *why* the Quakers were treated so ruthlessly?

It is with extreme reluctance that I have candidly to say that those who plead for one side in this matter seem unwilling to allow that the Quakers were chargeable with any obtrusive, unfair, and provoking acts or words against the Puritans. No one would infer that they were in any wise different from those known by the name this day. Had the Puritans, not yet thirty years settled on this hard soil, trying a serious and anxious experiment, pledged in covenant to be of one mind and purpose, dreading sedition and disaster, — had they no rights to hold their own creed and follow their own ways? By what rightful claim could intruders come among them, alleging a divine mission, to rebuke, revile, and prophesy all manner of woes against them? Mr. Whittier is incapable of a taunt, but from any one else I should so regard what he writes of me, as a heretic standing for the Puritans. I do not love that sort of people. I could not endure a month of life with them and their ways. They would have found it very easy to have got rid of me. But that is no reason why I should not claim for them a right to have their side of their own story told. I stand for the truth of history about them, just as I would try to add up a column of figures correctly, even if it were a list of my own debts. Can it be possible that I detect in Mr. Whittier's communication a survival of the old spirit of "calling names!" The term "Socinian" has never been used here otherwise than as one of reproach. I never knew a Socinian. Certainly I am not one myself. I might as well have been called a Parsee, or a Muggletonian. I have never written a single sentence in *defence* of the Puritans, nor in *abuse* of the Quakers, but have sought to present both as they stand on the record. What Mr. Whittier so beautifully writes about as "the doctrine of the Divine Immanence held by Quakers," was not appreciated in the style which Quaker speech and behavior had for the Puritans. He says that I "seem to think that the Quakers were as much to blame for being hanged as Endicott was for hanging them." I might not put the matter in that way, but the most candid and deliberate judgment I can form on the sad episode is, that both parties were equally chargeable with wrong and folly. Mr. Whittier does, as he says, "inherit the name and faith of those people," but not their tongues nor their behavior. The presence of *our* Mr. Whittier would have been a God-send and a blessing to those old Puritans. But it would have been safer for me to have kept out of their way. He would not do or speak as some of them did and spoke. He says he has honestly endeavored to do justice to both parties. In all that I have written on the subject I have as honestly tried to do the same, and I belong to neither of the parties, though I see something to respect in both. And every one who writes on this subject belonging to neither party will always regret the stumbling-block for general and superficial readers found in the fact that the same name, Quaker, is applied to such persons as the

Puritans here had to deal with, and the mild, unobtrusive, and often lovable persons known to our generation. The worst epithet attached to modern Quakers is "sly." On our old records they appear as "seditious, slanderous, malignant, blasphemous," &c., &c.

Of course these hard words were used in the sense which the Puritans attached to them. But none the less they had an application. The vituperative capacity of the English language was drawn upon with equal freedom and force by both parties. Mary Dyer left her home in Rhode Island, as the piteous letter of her husband informed the magistrates, he knew not under what restless emotions of spirit, neglecting him and her home duties, to travel through the wilderness to Boston. She said that God sent her here to protest against the cruel laws. Of course the magistrates would not take her word for that, while her claim to special revelation and illumination for eccentric guidance was to them a most hateful pretence, as they believed themselves in covenant with God. They told her that they had passed their laws to protect themselves from the annoyance and risk of disaster and utter ruin, coming from her and others like her, in keeping their community under dread alarm. It is a distressing story. But I cannot assume either single side in the narration of it, though I hope Mr. Whittier will not doubt to which of them my sympathies go. Time and trial have left certified about an equal residuum of each of the two systems then in antagonism in principles of government, and in doctrinal and institutional religion.

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

NOTE BY DR. ELLIS.—I have read the notes which Mr. Whittier appends to his communication. If the matter in them seems to him to sustain his view of the respective courses of the Massachusetts authorities and the Quakers, in their collision, I certainly have no wish to discuss the new points which he introduces. It will be observed that they are wholly aside from and irrelevant to the one, sole, original point which engaged my criticism, namely, that the illustrated poem, "The King's Missive," attributed to the letter of Charles II. an effect not warranted by historic facts and the record. I have already declined to follow out the interesting though, as I have said, irrelevant matters of the controversy, in generals or particulars, having twice attempted that in papers now in print. Mr. Whittier quotes the order in which the court suspends proceedings till it "shall take farther notice." If he had continued his quotation from the Court Book, he would have shown that that "farther notice" was to put "the existing laws against the Quakers in full force, in every respect," in defiance of the king's letter. I was perfectly familiar with the order quoted from Besse, addressed "to William Salter," December 9, and know not how to regard it, otherwise than as "a sop." It is not on the court records, nor does it appear from those records that after the two discharges of Quakers before the receipt of the king's letter there were any of them in jail to be released after it. At any rate, the Quaker writer, John Whiting, says the jailer did not comply with such "order."

The magistrates regarded their charter as empowering them to inflict capital punishment and maiming, and they followed the law and practice of England in those penalties in many cases.

I can but stand amazed at Mr. Whittier's assertion that the colony laws made no charge of "turbulent or seditious behavior" against the Quakers. Those laws fairly bristle and sting with such charges. And this statement of the poet is to be taken in connection with his keen dart against the magistrates for pretending "that they killed the Quakers for fear that the Quakers would kill

them." The magistrates meant what their words imply, and were really under the panic which they describe. Will my much-respected friend allow me to ask of him that he will try — though his placid and liberal spirit may make it difficult to him — to recognize the thorough sincerity in belief, conviction, and purpose, the anxiety and peril in their exposed situation, and the hazards and dreads of the utter wreck of their stern enterprise, entertained by the colony magistrates? Had they nothing at risk? Had they no right of self-protection? A certain style of opinion was to them more alarming than an Indian with war-paint and tomahawk. It was because they regarded the Quakers as a turbulent and seditious people — wild fanatics, claiming inspiration for their assaults upon church and government — at they excited such dismay. Just as sincerely as the Quakers held to the principles did the magistrates believe that those principles would bring awful 'sasters and horrors on the infant colony. Has Mr. Whittier overlooked the events which the mild and tolerant Roger Williams used of the *behavior* of the Quakers, without any reference to their doctrines? Doubtless there were germs of some of the Quaker opinions, as also even of "Socinian" and various other forms of belief, in the colony before the rise of the sect known as Quakers in England. "Vagrants and vagabonds" as their etymology shows, are vague terms, as applied by the magistrates to the Quakers. Neither of the four who were executed was a "citizen or a freeholder" here. They were all in the eye of the law intruders.

The wild and seemingly frenzied doings of the Quakers in England had been made known by letters received here, before any of them came hither, and there was an intense dread of the arrival of such heralded nuisances as the fomenters of discord and mischief. The court had even appointed a Fast Day, among the occasions of which was expressly mentioned the rise and principles of the sect in England.

It will gratify very many persons to know that Mr. Whittier is to use his finely gifted pen for "a full and exhaustive history" of this distressing episode in our annals. But he will give us rather a poetical than a prose composition if he maintains the notion that "the people called Quakers" said and did nothing to irritate, exasperate, and terrify those who had in charge the security of the struggling colony of Massachusetts Bay.]